

Mc Ardle

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Outline

I. Introduction Boston University of the proposed treatment
of the problem.

Graduate School

II. History of Immigration:

A. 1789-1830

1.) Thesis

2.) Race composition

B. 1830-1860

"Immigration as a Social Problem"

2.) Race composition

C. 1860

1.) Submitted by

2.) Race composition

Florence Elizabeth Mc Ardle

D. Brief discussion of the significance

(Litt. B., Boston University, 1912)

III. The Immigration Problem:

Since we, as a nation have in the past established
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
is hindered by immigration; namely:-

of

1. An economic standard-an industrial wage suffi-
cient to support the independence of the la-
boring class-which is lowered:

Master of Arts

1913

a. By artificial overcrowding of the labor
market.

b. By ruinous competition with the low stan-
dard of living of the European workman.

2. A political standard-popular representative
government-maintainable only by an intelli-
gent, interested, and responsible voting class,
and lowered:

a. By the illiteracy of the immigrants and
their political traditions.

b. By the weakness of our naturalization laws,

1. Which might be easily remedied by a
literacy qualification

and especially

Boston University
Graduate School

Thesis

BERKSHIRE BOND
"Immigration as a Social Problem"

Submitted by

Florence Elizabeth Mc Ardle

(M.A., Boston University, 1912)

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Arts

1912

Outline

1. Introduction: brief sketch of the proposed treatment of the problem.
11. History of Immigration:
 - A. 1789-1820
 - 1.) Quantity
 - 2.) Race composition
 - B. 1820-1869
 - 1.) Quantity
 - 2.) Race composition
 - C. 1869 _____
 - 1.) Quantity
 - 2.) Race composition
 - D. Brief discussion of the significance of the changing race aspect.

111. The Immigration Problem:

Since A: We, as a nation have in the past established certain standards, the maintenance of which is hindered by immigration; namely:-

1. An economic standard-an industrial wage sufficient to preserve the independence of the laboring class-which is lowered:
 - a. By artificial overcrowding of the labor market.
 - b. By ruinous competition with the low standard of living of the European workman.
2. A political standard-popular representative government-maintainable only by an intelligent, interested, and responsible voting class, and lowered:
 - a. By the illiteracy of the immigrants and their political traditions.
 - b. By the weakness of our naturalization laws.
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A. 1789-1830

II. History of Immigration:

I. Introduction: Brief sketch of the proposed treatment of the problem.

Outline

3. A set of social standards governing our community relations and interfered with in various ways by the immigrants. They involve:

a. The maintenance of a high standard of literacy for the sake of the stability of the government which is seriously interfered with by:

1' A high and progressive average of immigrant illiteracy.

b. The maintenance of a low average of criminality.

1' Such as is generally more characteristic of Teutons than of Latins or Slavs.

2' Seriously affected by immigration as shown by statistics.

a' Especially in the second generation.

b' In a manner which has a definite relation with immigrant illiteracy.

3' Involving consequently an ever increasing financial and moral burden.

c. The maintenance of a high average of mental efficiency- affected by immigration,

1' As shown by statistics

2' For assignable causes which do not, however, remove the burden.

d. The maintenance of a high physical standard interfered with:

1' By defects in the administration of our immigration laws,

a' Especially concerning bonding.

2' By the poor physique of our foreign-born as a class-

a' As shown by experience

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e. The maintenance of a low average of dependence interfered with:

1' By the presence of the foreigners

a' Especially as their stamina is low.

2' Most seriously in the East, where the newcomers congest.

3' Contrary to the popular optimistic view, as is shown by statements of persons qualified to speak with authority.

And since B: We are making serious efforts to overcome these unfortunate effects, such as:

1. The corrective work of prison reformatories, etc.- not interesting to discuss here

2. The constructive efforts of:

a. The court probation officer in his relation as friend and advisor

1' Illustrated by an actual case

b. The "friendly visitor" of the Associated Charities with her opportunities for putting the immigrant family in touch with American life.

3. The Preventive or Constructive work done in the face of the tremendous difficulty presented by:

a. The Slum: largely the product of immigration as shown by:

1' Figures for immigrant effect on urban population

2' Figures for congestion in N. Y. and possessed of a two-fold fault:-

1' Hygienic and moral, as shown by infant mortality and the effect of these unnatural surroundings shown in criminal statistics, especially those for the second generation.

x' Against the latter the public school struggles bravely but with faint hope.

2' Racial Segregation is a problem in itself especially trying since it cannot be legislated against. It is met by

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x' The Schools which accomplish mainly the broadening of the children by-

1" The teaching of English

2" The breaking down of the barriers of race prejudice.

3" Raising them from the unskilled class through trade schools

y' Settlements: In their efforts to Americanize the foreigners by interesting them in our ways by means of clubs, classes, and various activities among old and young.

z' Other Agencies-typical among which are such institutions as the Civic Service House of Bostpn; the playground systems and their battle to disrupt "the gang"; country week and Mothers' Rests, and District Nursing.

And since C: In the opinion of many persons in close touch with the actual situation that we are not making much real progress through these efforts

IV. Therefore- we should take steps to remedy this situation by restricting our immigration. Various proposals have been made to this end, including A- An illiteracy test

B- A large head tax

C- Consular inspection

D- An examination of which reveals excellent reasons for favoring the first two

E- These proposals have been opposed

1. By those interested financially

2. By those who deny its necessity

a.) hoping for race amalgamation

b.) hoping for race mixture

x-(Comments on these)

3. By those who deny our moral right to take the step.

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Immigration as a Social Problem.

1. Introduction

Before entering upon a discussion of immigration as a problem, it will be necessary to consider it briefly as a fact, for although a great deal is said and written these days on the subject, comparatively few people have any pretense to a first hand knowledge of the situation, and oftentimes an intelligent understanding of the significance of recent developments is dependent upon familiarity with those of the past. Next, because it is customary almost invariably to describe immigration as a "problem", till it becomes so much a habit that many of us do not stop to consider whether it really is one at all, we may put the question, "What is the immigration problem?" And then, because this is a discussion of it as a social problem, it will be necessary to consider more in detail this aspect, also the efforts that have been made and are now on foot to solve it and assimilate these thousands of foreigners to investigate the degree of success that has rewarded these efforts, and the possibilities that the future presents. This immigration question is a vital one for the American people today, and one on which the general public should make itself far better informed.

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11.
History of
Immigration.

The first difficulty to be overcome in outlining the course of immigration in this country is to decide when it began and meet the arguments of those who contend that we are all immigrants except the American Indians. Since it is unreasonable to speak of immigration to a country before it has a national existence, it is usual to consider those people who came here before the end of the Revolution, "colonists", and all who have come later, "immigrants." This distinction as applied to the years immediately following the Revolution is almost purely arbitrary because those entering then represented no races not already found here, did not alter the homogeneous character of the population, and were so comparatively few in number as to excite little general comment. With a population of about 4,000,000 in 1790, it is doubtful if more than 250,000 entered before 1820, and practically all of these were of the same Celtic and Teutonic stock as had already settled here.

In 1820 we first have figures relating to immigration, for with the coming of an increasing number of foreigners public attention was directed to the movement. Congress passed a law requiring the custom officials to keep a record of the number of incoming foreigners together with their age, sex, occupation, and native country, but not calling for a distinction between travelers and settlers. During the years from 1820 to 1869, which are taken as the second period in

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the history of immigration, the number of foreign arrivals rose, although rather unsteadily, while the ethnic composition of the immigration showed little marked change over that of the earlier period. About 1869, however, when, owing to the fact that the increased demand for unskilled labor to carry on industrial operations just after the war, could not be met in the home market, employers sought other sources, contract labor first made its appearance, and large numbers came from Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy.

Beginning with 1869 and continuing down to the present time, immigration has not only increased enormously in quantity but has undergone an equally marked change in quality. With every year the newcomers exhibit still wider differences from the native stock. A brief survey of the figures may help here. The following table states the case compactly, and at the same time gives a clear idea of the vastness of the movement.

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Immigration by years from 1885.

(From reports of Superintendent and Commissioner-General
of Immigration.)

1885	395,346	
1886	334,203	
1887	490,109	
1888	546,889	
1889	444,427	
1890	455,302	
1891	560,319	
1892	579,663	
1893	439,730	(The Cholera Year.)
1894	285,631	(Period of restrictive Commercial Depression.)
1895	258,536	
1896	343,267	
1897	230,832	
1898	229,299	
1899	311,715	
1900	448,572	
1901	487,918	
1902	648,743	
1903	857,046	
1904	812,870	
1905	1,026,499	(Immigrant Aliens on- ly)
1906	1,100,735	
1907	1,285,349	
1908	782,870	
1909	751,786	
1910	1,041,570	
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(Period of Commercial Depression.)	1894	385,831
	1895	358,556
	1896	345,987
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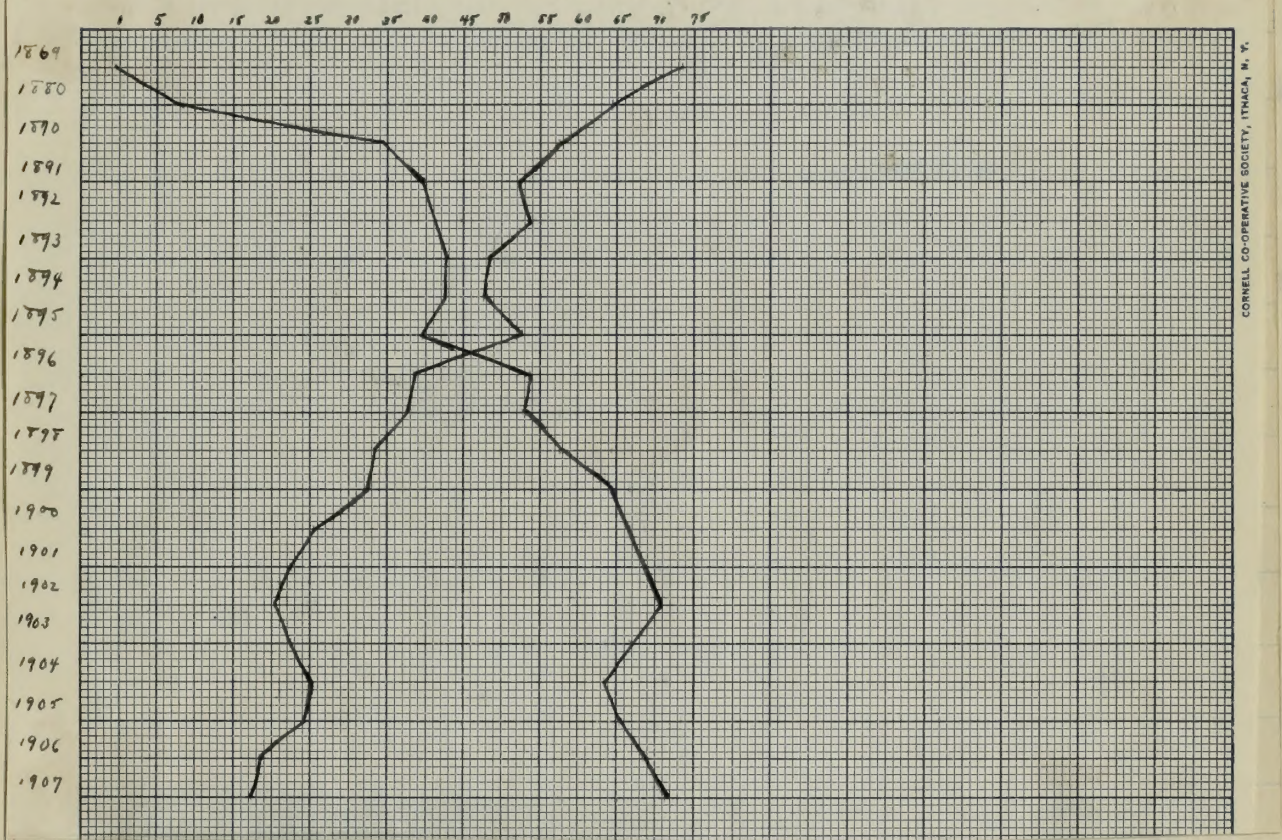
Commercial depression and the panic of 1873 combined to keep the figures down until 1878 when they took a very sudden rise culminating in the total of 1882 not equalled again until 1903. This sudden turn was caused partly by the working of the "May Laws" in Russia against the Jews, for Russian immigration increased four-fold from 1881 to 1882 and seven-fold by 1890. Another cause was the enactment of immigration legislation in this country in 1882 which gave rise to the fear in Europe that Congress might later adopt restrictive measures, and made many hasten over here to forestall such action. The cholera year, and the period of commercial depression in this country caused a steady fall in the figures until 1899. Since that year the increase has been nearly constant, -1907 standing highest with a total of 1,285,349.

Without going into detail regarding the quality of this immigration, it may be said that, beginning with 1869 the percentage of Teutonic and Celtic immigrants has decreased fairly steadily while the percentage for other races has risen at an almost identical rate, as illustrated on the chart following.

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This means that we are now receiving into our population hordes of people who for numerous reasons form a burden upon us that increases not only relatively but absolutely. It is contended with truth that our present immigration is no greater in proportion to the total population than was that of fifty years ago,



(The line starting at the right in 1889, represents the percent of Teutonic stock in our immigration during the years covered; the line starting at the left represents all other stock.)

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live on a standard which we regard as indecent, and they can underbid more efficient men in the labor market. The better class of workmen refuses to compete with them, those of Europe by staying at home and those here by cutting down their birth rate.

111. Having glanced rapidly at immigration as a fact, The Im- it is now appropriate to take up the second question suggested migration earlier in the paper, which might be compactly stated as, "What Problem is the immigration problem?" The phrase is bandied about, and we know vaguely that it has something to do with assimilating the foreigners, but few, perhaps, stop to consider exactly what it signifies. In general, this influx of foreign peoples is a problem to us because in the early days of the republic, by reason of the homogeneity of the people, we developed a set of characteristic institutions and ideals which we value because they are our own and which the newcomers threaten to take from us. The problem is then one of preserving our national characteristics, and in so far as it would never have arisen, in this form at all events, but for him, the immigrant becomes the problem itself. Just what some of these ideals and standards are and how the newcomers affect them it may be a matter of interest to note.

They group themselves, in general, under three heads as Economic, Political, and Social, but as the groups overlap slightly it is not always possible to keep the three aspects of the problem entirely distinct.

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A. 1.

Our Economic
Standard

Our economic ideal seems to be a standard of living among the industrial and unskilled laborers sufficiently high to prevent serfdom in any form from ever eating its way into our industrial system. We have managed fairly well up to this decade to keep within hailing distance, at least, of our ideal mainly because being a young country our labor supply was not equal to demand, and wages, accordingly, were high. Now, however, ^{that} supply closely approaches demand the ever-increasing introduction of labor-saving machinery narrows the field still further, and we are confronted with the possibility, not very remote, of an over-crowded labor market. The inevitable result of this event will be the forcing downward of wages and the standard of living, until labor conditions here are the same as they are in the poorest country of Europe, of Asia even, and there is no further incentive for men to seek our shores. In the early days, even down through the Civil War, we stood in need of this labor to develop industry and open up the country. Had the native market been protected from competition with the lower standard of living it could itself have supplied the demand, but more slowly. To the extent that imported labor hastened our early development, we are indebted to it. It is said frequently that immigration still comes in obedience to the law of supply and demand and that to interfere with the working of the law might prove a serious mistake on our part. Those who take this stand overlook

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the fact that the immigration now coming is, to an enormous degree, the artificial product of the transportation companies, gathered by their agents from all corners of Europe and the near East and delivered at our ports at such prices as to make the journey but a comparatively unimportant financial venture. Therefore our modern immigration is to be classed rather as in violation of the law of supply and demand than in obedience to it. Oftentimes, too, even that part of it not induced by the transportation agents is brought in response to a still less healthy demand, that of employers for workmen to break a strike in some unskilled industry, and is thus used deliberately to keep down the standard of living. It is curious to note that as a nation we have stood long for a high tariff to protect the workingman from competition with the low wage standard of Europe, and at the same time have insisted upon opening the door wide to admit the low-priced workman himself to active competition here at home. Of what use is it to debar the product if we admit the workman?

A. 2. Our political ideal is popular, representative govern-

Our Political Standard ment; we stand before the world as its foremost exponent and believe it to be a practical one, but we realize that the stability of the form of government we have chosen rests upon the intelligence, interest, and responsibility of the voters. What then can we think will be the effect of admitting to the country 1,041,570 persons among whom 28% of those over 15 years of age are totally illiterate, as was the case in 1910, especial-

the fact that the immigration now coming is, to an enormous degree, the artificial product of the transportation companies, gathered by their agents from all corners of Europe and the near East and delivered at our ports at such prices as to make the journey but a comparatively unimportant financial venture. Therefore our modern immigration is to be classed rather as in violation of the law of supply and demand than in obedience to it. Oftentimes, too, even that part of it not induced by the transportation agents is brought in response to a still less healthy demand, that of employers for workmen to break a strike in some unskilled industry, and is thus used deliberately to keep down the standard of living. It is curious to note that as a nation we have stood long for a high tariff to protect the workman from competition with the low wage standard of Europe, and at the same time have insisted upon opening the door wide to admit the low-priced workman himself to active competition here at home. Of what use is it to debar the product if we admit the workman?

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ly when we remember that these illiterates represent classes that have been for generations, perhaps always, without voice in their government and consequently without intelligent interest or sense of responsibility? Certainly these immigrants, even though in individual cases of the very best intentions and dispositions cannot be expected to take part intelligently in our political life. Whether education and environment will make responsible citizens of their children is another question, with the weight of evidence on the negative, as it becomes more generally believed that heredity is stronger than environment. The actual political danger, however, from this body of citizens would be small if it were not for the fact that they are entrusted with the ballot almost immediately upon arrival. Our naturalization laws were made at a time when the small numbers, high percentage of literacy and generally good qualifications of the immigrants made it desirable to admit them to citizenship as early as possible. They were formulated with the purpose of rendering citizenship easy to acquire. These laws require only 5 years' residence in the United States, proof of good character, and a promise to support the constitution. They thus let slip an excellent opportunity of debarring the illiterate vote by an educational qualification. It is argued on this point that little harm actually comes about since the immigrants' desire for naturalization is in the order of their literacy, those coming from

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countries where the educational standard is high being most eager, those from ignorant countries, such as Portugal, least so. On the other hand, it seems to be a fact that when these illiterate immigrants do become naturalized it is too often not from a desire to do their part in the work of governing, but because the precinct boss needs their votes. Suffrage is not an inherent right of our foreign citizens; it is a privilege which for the ultimate good of the many should be bestowed only where it will be intelligently used. To give it, thus gratuitously, is to build up an ignorant, boss-controlled vote and weaken the foundations of the state.

A. 3. Our social ideal, our theory concerning the relations of men's daily lives, is commonly summed up in the phrase, "Equality of opportunity." It is this, but it is more too; we believe that men have certain equal inherent rights but that at the same time the safe-guarding of these individual rights involves obligations to the community which must be enforced. Because various peoples differ in their conception of what these community obligations are, there can be no objective standard, consequently no exact measurement of a nation's social progress. Starting with a conception of the characteristic social traits of the American people a century ago, we can say undoubtedly that a change has taken place, and that immigration has inevitably contributed to it, but the phenomena are so complex that we are not in a position to state confidently whether we have gone upward or downward on the scale of civilization. We can only

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note whether we are tending toward or away from our ideal.

Because of the nature of our government, and the sure knowledge that its stability depends largely upon the intelligence of the voters, we as a nation hold compulsory education essential to our national well-being, and regard with pride our high standard of literacy. In 1880 the percent of illiterates over 10 years of age for the entire country was 17, in 1890 it was 13.3, in 1900 it was 10.7. The figures look hopeful, but it must be admitted that the reduction has been slow, considering the vast sums that have been spent, and, generally speaking, wisely, in the cause. In the absence of an illiteracy test we are deprived of reliable figures on immigrant illiteracy, but on their own testimony at entrance, in 1895, 20% of these people over 14 years of age were unable to read or write in any known dialect; in 1900, 24%; in 1905, 26.2%; in 1910, 28%. These percentages are doubtless lower than actual conditions warrant, as the vague knowledge of continual agitation here in favor of the illiteracy test prompts many affirmative answers not founded on fact. Moreover, although the literacy of the races that in the past have been forming the greater part of our immigration has shown a tendency to improve owing to better educational standards in Western Europe, yet the races that are now gaining the ascendancy in our immigration, those from southeastern Europe, show no tendency at all to improve but rather are slipping back. The figures, then, indicate broadly, that we are very slowly raising our literacy standard in spite of an enormous annual increase of persons totally illiterate, and, because of their age, beyond reach of compulsory education. That we

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can do it speaks well for our school systems, but it is a tremendous strain and we should consider carefully, not only the harmful political influence of this ignorant mass, but also whether this increasing immigrant illiteracy may not reach a point where it will completely offset our efforts to raise the national standard. The effect of the inability to read is not to be measured in figures, for it influences most strongly our efforts at assimilation. When there collects a large group of persons so densely ignorant as these and shut off thus from even the commonest point of enlightening contact, the newspaper, they cling together as a sort of lump and develop a shell-like resistance to outside influence; this goes to make the problem of congestion.

Before considering this problem, however, it may be well to consider another social obligation that of acquiescing with the will of the community and abiding by its laws. The Teutonic peoples are strongly social in their tendencies, the Latin and eastern peoples individualistic. Therefore our forefathers and those who followed them immediately tended to be law-abiding; our more recent immigration being Latin largely tends to disregard the community will and has acquired a reputation for lawlessness. This is, to be sure, a sweeping statement and should perhaps be contrasted with that of Mayo-Smith:-

"From all the statistics the conclusion seems to be justified that criminality is somewhat more prevalent among the foreign born and those of foreign descent than among those of native descent, but this excess is not so great as to enable us to say that the influence of migration is to increase tendency of crime."

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The statistics are involved and there is much danger, apparently, in the novice reading them wrongly, but the following facts seem to emerge:- that the average of criminality is kept up in spite of a decrease among the natives because of an increase among the immigrants; that the excess of adults among the immigrants accounts largely for their high criminality, although this explanation does not, of course, relieve the burden of the community; and that, unlike the educational problem, that of crime is not at all hopeful, since the children of immigrants prove twice as dangerous as their parents. According to figures compiled by Prescott F. Hall, based on a report of the Massachusetts Prison Commission for 1894, the general criminality of the foreign born in this state is exactly twice as great as that of the native born, not considering crimes of drunkenness; and criminality advances among immigrants at a rate strikingly similar to that for illiteracy.

	No. per M.	No./M. Less Drunks.	Illiteracy (1896)
Germany	6.2	3.6	2.4
Scandinavia	12.3	5.1	1.0
Scotland	19.6	5.8	4.6
France	14.7	6.1	4.2
Ireland	27.2	7.1	6.5
England	20.6	7.2	4.4
Russia (Jews)	9.5	7.9	32.1
Austria	15.6	10.4	36.4
Hungary	15.4	15.4	46.5
Poland	20.9	16.0	47.8
Italy	20.9	18.2	46.1
Native born	7.7	2.7	
Foreign born	18.2	5.4	

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	No. per M.	No. \M. Less Drunks.	Illiteracy (1892)
Germany	20.9	18.2	46.1
Scandinavia	20.9	18.2	47.8
Scotland	20.9	18.2	48.5
France	20.9	18.2	36.4
Ireland	20.9	18.2	32.1
England	20.9	18.2	4.4
Russia (Jews)	20.9	18.2	6.5
Austria	20.9	18.2	4.2
Hungary	20.9	18.2	4.8
Poland	20.9	18.2	1.0
Italy	20.9	18.2	2.4
Native born	10.4	9.1	
Foreign born	20.9	18.2	

The burden of the foreigners on the community seems, then, not to be a light one. Financially, it necessitates an annual expenditure millions of dollars in excess of what would otherwise be demanded for the upkeep of prisons, reformatories, and similar institutions, besides tending to lower the moral tone of the whole community, even of the native element, by making crime ever less shocking because of its increasing frequency. The problem, then, seems to be how to instil into the newcomers a decent respect for our laws. Example and education appear to be the only roads open to us, and, since often times this so-called lawlessness is not deliberate defiance but the result of a difference in view-point, inherited through many centuries, it is not to be rooted out in a day nor even in a generation. The figures for crime among immigrants' children show all too plainly the truth of the last statement. Not the least important step in solving the problem consists in somehow breaking up the slum, for as Chinatown perpetuates the Tongs, and as the Sicilian quarter fosters the Vendetta, so every other section peopled by one nationality keeps alive those national traits whose abandonment we are forced to demand as the price of participation in our privileges.

It is well to note, too, at this point, the effect of immigration upon the burden laid on the state by the defective and dependent. In the special census reports for 1904, it was shown that the foreign born whites, being 19.5% of the white population, furnished 34.3% of the white insane persons in the hospitals, and 29.8% of the admissions to such hospitals during 1904. Doubtless,

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as in the case of crime, this alarmingly high rate of insanity is partly due to the fact that our foreign born citizens are for the most part of the age that would naturally furnish the highest proportion of insane, and partly to the fact that the hardships of the early years in this country invite mental and nervous breakdowns. An explanation of the causes does not, however, remove the burden, and we are still faced with the fact that in greater New York in 1904, 60% of the insane were foreign born, and that for the whole population the foreign born furnish more than twice their proportion of the insane and a burden on the community finances correspondingly large.

Turning to bodily disease, we find conditions much the same. The immigration laws, as they are construed, endeavor to keep out only those suffering from a disease that is loathsome or dangerous or that will prevent them from carrying on their occupation. Such a law, naturally, admits many who while perhaps not actually suffering from any special disease have a vitality and resistance so low that after a few months in a crowded tenement with almost utter absence of proper sanitary provisions and lack of sufficient nourishment, they succumb to the first epidemic or to tuberculosis in some form. Moreover, it is possible for an immigrant who might otherwise be debarred for physical disability to be admitted on the bond of some friend already here. As the bondsman is usually a recent immigrant and may become insolvent at any time, and, as the new arrival may move to some locality where the existence of the bond is unknown, we find that the execution of this part of the law often times nullifies its intention.

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Taking both the above facts into consideration we should not be surprised to find that the foreign born contribute rather more than their proportionate share to our defective classes. In 1906, the 40% of foreign born school children in New York furnished over 70% of the defectives in the schools, while in 1902, the foreign born population, or a little more than 1/3 of the total population of the city furnished 89% of the deaths from tuberculosis. In 1905, the authorities in New Orleans attributed the spread of the yellow fever epidemic to the fact that the recent Italian immigrants resisted the necessary sanitary measures. There are in this country no health statistics adequate enough to warrant the unqualified assertion that immigration is lowering our health standard, but the experience of New York, for example, would make it appear not improbable that this is true. It should be noted especially that we lack entirely statistical information concerning the health record of the native born children of foreign parents. This is an essential point, for the worst effect of an immigration with poor physique would not be the filling of the hospitals and almshouses, although that would be bad enough, but the production of a race of generally low stamina, -"the watering of the nation's life blood," spoken of by George William Curtis. Furthermore, if foreign immigration appears now to have an unwholesome effect upon our national health standards, we must expect only worse things from the future, for the races which are contributing in increasing numbers to our population are those having the

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largest proportion of serious physical defects. Dr. McLaughlin presents some interesting figures on this point; the proportions of defectives to the totals landed in 1901 being:-

Syrian	1 in 29
Hebrew	1 in 42
Magyar	1 in 148
Finn	1 in 163
Italian	1 in 172
Slav	1 in 664
Lithuanian	1 in 1906

Closely connected with the health and general efficiency of the population is the problem of dependence, since inability to work, owing to ill health, is the cause assigned for a large proportion of the applications for out-door relief and for admission to almshouses. General low stamina, induced by poor nourishment and the unsanitary living conditions of the congested city districts, causes many of the newly arrived to drop behind and finally give up the struggle. As might be expected, the eastern states and especially New York suffer most heavily from the burden of increased dependence. The immigrants arrive, for the most part, with little money. Those who come in evasion of the contract labor laws are quickly taken off to their destination; those with friends or relatives are cared for; but the others, in many cases, when work proves scarce, lack either sufficient money or good judgment to get beyond the port of entry, and in a short while they must seek help from public or private charity. It is the usual optimistic way of the Americans to picture the immigrant as arriving at Ellis Island with no visible means of support but his two strong hands and a limitless ambition, as sending in a year for his wife and family, all living on

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next to nothing a day, accumulating money with unbelievable rapidity, sending bright, strong, young Americans to school, and leaving to them sufficient money with which to rise higher than their parents in the world. It is an attractive picture and it is well for us if the general features are true of even a small number of cases, for the other side is dark indeed. Richard de Courcy Ward in discussing the subject, "The Restriction of Immigration", has said:-

"The problem of immigration cannot be treated by statistics alone-it is far too complex. Only those having constant, close personal relations with the immigrants can determine whether or not they are becoming assimilated. It is not the immigration problem of yesterday or today which concerns us so vitally but that of tomorrow. Our fathers would have been staggered by an immigration of 1,000,000 but we must expect 2,000,000 within ten or fifteen years."

An authoritative expression of opinion such as Mr. Ward requires is found in the resolution of the Boards of Associated Charities sent to Congress declaring that "it is impossible to make the conditions of the very poor substantially better when every arriving steamer brings more of the ignorant and unskilled to compete for the employments that are open only to the ignorant and unskilled." Again in an annual report of the Boston Associated Charities we find this statement:-

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we can have little hope of permanent gain for uplifting the poor of the cities, since newcomers are always at hand ignorant of American standards." In the 27th annual report of the United Hebrew Charities we find this:-

"It is unnecessary here to reproduce the causes that underlie these conditions. The horrible congestion in which so many of our co-religionists live, the squalor and filth, the lack of air and sunlight. Even more pronounced are the results accruing from these conditions: the vice and crime, the ir-religiousness, lack of self-restraint, indifference to social conventions, indulgence of the most degrading and perverted appetites, which are daily growing more pronounced and offensive."

When people as close to the actual situation as these and with a very personal interest in the welfare of the immigrants as individuals not as "problems" hold such views, it is time that the country at large took a more intelligent interest in the question, with the hope of rendering help to them by effective legislation.

B-Our
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But before looking to the future of our problem, let us rather examine the efforts that have already been made toward its working out, the means now at hand, and the success so far met with. The work being done may be classed broadly as corrective and preventive, -the latter being by far the more interesting and presenting greater hope for the future. The former is the work of caring for those immigrants who have already fal-

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len into the dependent classes; it is carried on mainly by the state with its prisons, reformatories, almshouses, hospitals, orphan-asylums, and outdoor relief. The foreigners are, of course, cared for like any others, -the only interest they possess in this connection arises from the fact that they swell the numbers so disproportionately, as I have set forth elsewhere. Since prisons and almshouses are entirely corrective and concern themselves only with treating the symptoms of our social evils, they have no important place in a discussion of the social problem presented by immigration, for such a discussion turns, quite naturally, on the question, "What is to be done to remedy this state of affairs?" And the almshouse is never a solution-it is only a makeshift.

On the border line between purely corrective and purely preventive effort lie two active factors in the work of assimilation-probation work in the courts, and the work of the Associated Charities. The work of the probation officers is corrective in so far as it deals with persons who have already committed crime; it is preventive in that it aims at reform rather than at punishment, for the individuals singled out by the court for probation rather than commitment are those who show a tendency, only, in the wrong direction not a settled purpose, who need merely to be warned, and on whom the demoralizing influences of a prison sentence would work only harm. In the case of the foreign born offender arrested on some slight offense due, perhaps, to ignorance of the law, or to the mistaken idea that everyone does as he chooses in this free land, the plan works admirably. It presents a double advantage in

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that it upholds the dignity of the law without inflicting the harshness of a prison sentence, and that it does away with the attitude of antagonism and, by putting him under the care of a man who endeavors to become his real friend and sympathetic adviser, induces the offender in the future to co-operate with authority. Sometimes when there is no actual harm in the newcomers, the influences of new surroundings are so upsetting that they are led astray and need to be squared suddenly with authority. An actual case from the experience of a Boston probation officer may serve here. Giuseppe, not many months in this country was arrested on his wife's charge of non-support. He was capable of earning good pay as a stone-cutter, he did not drink to excess, nor abuse the family, in fact had no bad habits except the one of neglecting his work to gamble in the company of a crowd of idlers. The probation officer took him in hand and he promised to do better. After several months with no further complaint from the wife, the officer paid the family a friendly visit, and, finding everything prosperous inquired how Giuseppe contrived to pass his time away from his old friends. With enthusiastic pride the reformed man led him to the tiny yard and pointed to a row of little granite headstones each neatly inscribed with the name and birthdate of a member of the family, all apparently in readiness to receive the next date. Giuseppe explained volubly that his employer let him have the bits of stone and that the work was giving him practice that might help to a better position. Ludicrous as this instance may seem, how much better it was than six months "at the island"

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That part of the Associated Charity work that is helping most in the assimilation of the foreigners is not the giving of financial aid, finding work for the father, or sending a weekly grocery order; it is the personal interest given by each of the workers, and, above all, the interested sympathy of the "Friendly Visitors" that really counts in the task of making over these Poles and Finns and Greeks into American citizens. The friendly visitor of the sensational journal is the patronizing "Lady Bountiful" who goes down into Salem Street in her limousine, gingerly ascends the stairs, and offers impossible advice to the poor people of the tenement. Perhaps the type does ~~xxx~~ exist, and without a doubt some of the volunteer workers do make tactless blunders, but, after all, they are only human, and, as the work progresses, and more people go to it with a real desire to be of service, there will be still less ground for criticism. The chief thing that the work accomplishes for the immigrant family is to form for it an attachment with the world outside that is on a purely personal basis. The worker, if she will, can win the faith of the members and through it accomplish wonders. She can perhaps persuade the mother to get the baby's milk from the milk-station instead of from a corner grocery; she may be able to bring about better hygienic conditions in the home and some regard for the sanitary ordinances, find a way for the mother and baby to spend a week or two in the country, induce the oldest boy to sacrifice a night or two each week with the gang for a class at the school for Civic Service, and suggest

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that the little girl join the millinery class at the vocational center. These and many other things are worth while not entirely for themselves, but because they take the people somehow out of Little Italy and Little Syria and into the influence of America.

Turning to the purely preventive and constructive side of the work with immigration, we find arrayed the public schools, the settlement houses, the social centers, the trade schools, and thousands of workers with every energy bent toward ~~the~~ making Americans of these newcomers. They are the visible forces of assimilation and, valiant as their efforts are, they sometimes seem like twigs put out to stem the onrush of a torrent of water. So tremendous are the forces they struggle against that one writer has compared the work to an attempt to cleanse the Augean stables. Chief among their difficulties is the slum. When it is realized that in 1900, while the foreign born constituted 1/8 of our total population, they contributed 1/4 to our urban population and that they live there under conditions almost unbelievable, it will be seen that these foreigners have a very important effect upon the problem of congestion. A few figures concerning overcrowding in New York will help to an understanding of the situation. In 1904, in New York, there were 362,000 dark rooms used for dwelling purposes. In 1900 the figures for population density in New York per acre were as follows:-

Manhattan	149 per acre
S. E. "	382 per acre
1 ward of above	735 per acre

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In 1905 there were 12 blocks containing 1000 to 1400 per acre. By way of comparison it ought to be noted that in 1901 the average density for London was 60.6; for its most densely populated borough, 182; for a very small section of the latter 396. Even though Jacob Riis is correct when he says that the slum is as old as humanity, nevertheless, it cannot be denied that our slums are rendered worse by the yearly influx of foreigners on whom they react most harmfully. Statistics for 1900 show the following percentages of foreigners and their children in our city population. It is interesting to note in confirmation of

	% of foreign born.	% of foreign parentage
Boston	35.1	72.2
Fall River	47.7	86.1
Providence	38.1	66.5
Buffalo	29.6	73.8
New York City	37.0	76.9
Philadelphia	22.8	54.9
Cleveland	32.6	75.6
Chicago	34.6	77.4
Detroit	33.8	77.5
Duluth	39.6	79.8
San Francisco	34.1	75.2

The faults of the slum fall under two headings, those that are related to matters of hygiene and morals and those that concern race conditions. Popularly, the former hold the more important place, because they are so evident that it is impossible to overlook them. The picture is familiar enough; almost invariably a district in the oldest quarter of the city where the houses are worn out and tottering, the sanitary provisions antiquated and woefully inadequate, the streets narrow and dark, the yards and alleys filthy in the extreme; dozens of

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people crowd into the smoky, ill-smelling rooms for the night, sleeping oftentimes huddled on the floor with never a thought for the ordinary decencies of life. This manner of living has an unfortunate effect on the physical standards of the slum dwellers. They come almost entirely from rural districts, where, because fresh air and sunlight are abundant ordinary hygienic rules may be disregarded with more or less impunity, and these careless habits of life bring serious results, for the new life with almost total lack of sunlight and fresh air demands stricter regard for nature's laws. It is interesting to note in confirmation of this that the Jews coming from over-crowded European Ghettos, maintain a far better mortality rate than do the Italian and Greek peasants who succumb at an alarming rate to tuberculosis. There is another reason for this in that the Jews eat as well as their circumstances permit, and therefore, although their surroundings are of the worst, they maintain a good bodily resistance. The Latins and Greeks on the other hand, in their passion to save the pennies, eat food undescribably poor and as little even of that as possible, fall into slovenly ways and become fertile ground for the first disease germs that appear. The children suffer heavily, as might be expected, alike from their parents' poor physique, their wretched surroundings, and ignorance of treating such ailments as ordinary children easily withstand. Everything about the slum appears to conspire to give the immigrants the poorest start possible, but especially the utter absence of home-life is responsible for evils that are not ordina-

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rily laid at the door of tenement house congestion-I mean disorderliness, loose morality, and crime. To charge these things, without qualification, to inherent viciousness in the foreigners is a mistake. It is one thing to say that they are illiterate, poor, and unfit to be trusted with the ballot, and it is quite another to say that they are inherently and deliberately vicious. The former charges are probably true, the latter not generally so. If the foreigners develop an abnormal criminality, it is due largely to a combination of all the circumstances of their slum existence. The children growing up know no home; the street is their refuge out of school hours; they join "the gang" at an early age, and advance in its lessons from the first mischievous pranks to downright crime in a few short years. They possess an advantage over their parents in having a fluent command of English, look with scorn on the old world ways and customs of their elders, call them "slow"; in a word, they utterly lack restraint. What can five irksome hours a day in school avail against this? Even the more docile ones, eager to learn, have a slim enough chance. They are under school influence only until perhaps their fifteenth year and few habits or aspirations will have been firmly enough fixed by then that they will not give way when exposed only to destructive influences.

The hope, then, of assimilating our foreigners has been placed almost entirely in the public schools. "Never mind the parents, they will soon be dead; the children are ours," is the way Prescott Hall expresses the common attitude on this point. It is a fallacy, however. Education can certainly accomplish much

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but not everything; it can arouse aspirations, bring out what is in a child, but it can never supply anything to him. The boy who was the pride of the district, the mayor of the school city, may when twenty-five, accept, as complacently as his brother of the "gang", living conditions that shock our sense of decency, and have abandoned his political theories and ideals for practical politics and the control of the Italian vote in his precinct. This is no indictment of the boy or of our educational system, - it merely means that heredity and environment are influences far too strong to be overcome single-handed.

The second group of faults which I ascribed to the slums, those pertaining to race conditions, are less evident to the casual observer. They arise from the fact that the slum is made up of Little Syria, the Greek quarter, the Ghetto, Little Italy, and the others. If the families lived in neat, single houses the fact that they were grouped by nationalities would alone suffice to make their presence somewhat of a problem to the community. The reason is not far to seek; each national group becomes a unit, a centre toward which all newcomers from the same country naturally gravitate, where, as far as changed external conditions will permit, they live their old life. In the Polish quarter, for example, one hears only Polish spoken, there is a Polish church, a Polish newspaper, Polish stores, - in fact, it is Little Poland. It is often questioned, "Where is the harm so long as they are law-abiding?" The harm lies in the fact that while these people have come here ostensibly for the purpose of

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becoming American citizens, in effect, they have never left Poland, for the self-sufficiency of these foreign quarters is as effective a barrier against our civilization as the broad Atlantic. It seems almost futile to seek a remedy. We can legislate against poor housing conditions, and, to some extent, thus remedy congestion, but we cannot make laws saying where people shall live or what language they shall speak.

The last words suggest a ray of hope, however, for we can make the children go to school and teach them our language and we can establish extension and evening schools where their older brothers and sisters may learn if they will. That the latter eagerly accept the opportunities offered is gratifying but will not be viewed too optimistically when it is remembered that knowledge of English sometimes means more pay and a quicker return to proud affluence in the old country. But whatever the motive, we have gained a slight advantage, for the acquisition of our language somehow broadens their viewpoint and puts them into a more receptive attitude toward our ways. While this, to my mind, is the most important work accomplished by the schools as an assimilative force, they have another responsible task, that of putting the children of one nationality in close touch with those of different ones. Contact broadens and while it may not of itself construct anything good, by destroying old standards and prejudices it gives clearer ground for implanting American ideas. Trade schools, too, deserve mention and voca-

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Another most important means which we have chosen of attempting to solve the problem of our relations with the immigrants lies in the work of the social settlements. Established first in London in the eighties for the purpose of bringing cheer into the lives of the very poor, they have come in this country to accomplish the double purpose of making the poor happier and making them American. The work is carried on by persons of education, oftentimes college graduates, who take up a residence among the poor and devote their energy and sympathy to helping the people, mainly along the lines of recreation and self-improvement. The settlements vary in size from single dwelling houses to groups of specially constructed buildings such as Hull House, Greenwich House, and the Chicago Commons, but all are carried on in the same spirit of friendliness. Their aim has been set forth especially well, it seems to me, in a very tiny seven-page book called "The College Settlement" written by Katherine Coman about the work of seven college girls in the Rivington Street district of New York. In these houses, "neighborhood houses" as they

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There are countless other agencies active in our great work of assimilation. A particularly good example is the Civic Service House of Boston, established solely for the purpose of teaching the principles of good citizenship to the young people of the crowded North End, taking up the work where the public schools are forced to leave it off. The rapidly developing playground systems of the cities, established to give to the animal spirits of the children a safe vent, are all-important factors in the disruption of the "gangs." Country Week, Mothers' Rests, district nursing are efforts to raise the health standard in the congested districts. Anything and everything that broadens the foreigners' outlook shows them the way to better living, and attempts to make them definitely desire it, -anything of this sort is a powerful influence in the effort to make helpful American citizens of these immigrants of ours.

IV.

Conclu- sion. We have seen that we are welcoming, annually, vast numbers of people totally unlike us in language, custom, and disposition, that these people are entering faster than we can give them even a rudimentary idea of what citizenship among us ought to imply, that they are lowering our wage-standard, blocking our political progress, and burdening the community with grave social problems; we have seen finally that we are making serious, sympathetic attempts to remedy these evils. The question arises pertinently, "Are we succeeding?" It is a hard one to answer because so much depends on one's point of view. Remembering, however,

There are countless other agencies active in our great work of assimilation. A particularly good example is the Civic Service House of Boston, established solely for the purpose of teaching the principles of good citizenship to the young people of the crowded North End, taking up the work where the public schools are forced to leave it off. The rapidly developing playground systems of the cities, established to give to the animal spirits of the children a safe vent, are all-important factors in the disruption of the "gangs." Country Week, Mothers' Rests, district nursing are efforts to raise the health standard in the congested districts. Anything and everything that broadens the foreigners' outlook shows them the way to better living, and attempts to make them definitely desire it, anything of this sort is a powerful influence in the effort to make helpful American citizens of these immigrants of ours.

IV. Conclusion. We have seen that we are welcoming, annually, vast numbers of people totally unlike us in language, custom, and disposition, that these people are entering faster than we can give them even a rudimentary idea of what citizenship among us ought to imply, that they are lowering our wage-standard, blocking our political progress, and burdening the community with grave social problems; we have seen finally that we are making serious, systematic attempts to remedy these evils. The question arises pertinently, "Are we succeeding?" It is a hard one to answer because so much depends on one's point of view. Remembering, however,

the report of the Boston Associated Charities and the remarks of other social workers quoted above, it is evident that there are some in as close touch with the work as possible who find the prospect not at all encouraging. Many others, especially settlement workers, incline to the opposite view, for, as Miss Coman says, they feel that, even if they succeed in only one case out of ten, their work has not been in vain. Looking, as they do, to the good of the individual, they are undoubtedly right, but regarding the work as an attempted solution of our complex problem, one success to ten failures is not a reassuring report. Neither do we feel encouraged on considering the foreigners' progressive addition to our criminal inefficient and dependent classes. Least of all is there comfort in the knowledge that there is no reason to expect improved conditions during the coming years. To be brief-we are making little or no progress, indeed, such occurrences as the Lawrence strike indicate that there are places where we are slipping back. The question to be decided is, "What are we going to do about it?" It would seem as though a careful, unbiased consideration of these facts and conditions must force one to conclude that we need, in self-protection, to restrict considerably the volume of our immigration and improve definitely its quality. For years the question has been presented to Congress, but, because it has commanded so little of the intelligent attention of the nation, various interest, especially the transportation companies, and important industries, have been able to block proposed legislation. Even those people who believe in a policy of restriction are not agreed on the best methods of carrying it

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cut. On the whole, however, of all the proposals, the illiteracy test and heavy head tax seem to give the greatest promise of effectual reform. The plan of consular inspection looks promising but, on closer examination, appears impracticable, for it would demand a tremendous increase in our consular force and even with this our representatives would be forced still to depend upon the personal testimony of the many thousand applicants from the rural districts. The other two plans could be carried out with our present machinery, they would be extremely simple of application, not dependent to any degree upon the testimony of the applicants and would merely supplement in a very desirable way present laws. The advantage of the head tax is that it would attract the more frugal by keeping out the shiftless. It is very evident that the illiteracy test would be a powerful help in our battle with the slum, crime, disease, and general inefficiency.

But, simple as the proposition appears, it encounters widespread opposition besides that which I have mentioned above. In the first place, there are those who deny the necessity of taking any action whatever. These fall into two classes; first, those persistent optimists who believe that we can and will assimilate the Slavs of today as well as we did the Teutons of yesterday, and second, those who, like Dr. Eliot, believe that we will achieve a mixture of races, not fused, but living happily side by side. There can be little question, however, that we do not want racial amalgamation; Mongrel races are low in all the qualities that go to make a race great. Humboldt, Darwin, Agassiz declare this and Brazilian experience proves it. Neither

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One writer, Dr. Le Bon has said on this point in his "Political Psychology":- that we should long ago have attained the millennium

but for us "A preponderating influence of foreigners is a sure solvent of the existence of states. It takes away from a people its most precious possession- its soul. When aliens became numerous in the Roman Empire, it ceased to be."

and again:- I be entrusted to it and only with great care to the

best representative "It was a very sure instinct which taught the ancients the fear of strangers-they well knew that worth of a country is not measured by the number of its inhabitants, but by the number of its citizens." For he said:-

Then there are those people who deny our moral right to take steps to keep out the foreigners, whose outcry is that we must continue true to the purpose of the forefathers, that this country should ever be an "asylum" for the oppressed. Granting this last, are they quite sure that there is not a grain of truth in the cry of the other extremists that we are metamorphosing from a sacred refuge into a dumping ground? Are Lawrence, Chicago, and the East side successful schools of the kind of freedom that Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson cherished. Surely it is a false charity that is not content with bestowing the interest on its inheritance, but purposes to give lavishly of the principal. When both are gone what will the poor do? When our industrial conditions are as bad as the worst in Europe, and our political and social conditions correspondingly altered, as they

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must inevitably be, whither will the "oppressed" flee? And of what use will it be to remember that we once were their "asylum?" I do not mean this/^{as the} wail of a pessimist, neither as an attempt to demonstrate that we should long ago have attained the millennium but for our immigrant friends, nor yet as an enlargement upon "America for the Americans!" What I do believe is that "America for progress" should be our watchword, and because Teutonic stock has shown itself best fitted to accomplish our ends, the enterprise should be entrusted to it and only with great care to the best representatives of other races. Charles Eliot says it is not a generous thought, - maybe it does not seem so today but it will be proven the surest wisdom in the future. Phillips Brooks believed this to be true for he said:-

"If the world, in the great march of centuries, is going to be richer for the development of a certain national character, built up by a larger type of manhood here, then for the world's sake, for the sake of every nation that would pour in upon it that which would disturb that development, we have a right to stand guard over it."

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